1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate, being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan. The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medicine. Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains, the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

mew

If you travel from Ho-chou up the wide, fertile valley of the 133
Hsia-ho which cuts in between loess plateaus, you soon come to 131
steep wooded mountains that are set off sharply from the loess country. The Hsia-ho breaks through these mountains in a narrow ravine, and leaves them behind at T'u-men-kuan. This is the present boundary between the district of Ho-chou and the recently demarcated district of Hsia-ho, which formerly belonged to the Tibetan province of Amdo. This district boundary, which is at the same time actually the boundary between loess country and rock mountains, has long formed an ethnic division between Chinese and Tibetans. The valley at Tu-men-kuan is closed off by an old wall, which may often have been the chief line of defense of the Chinese against an enemy breaking through from the high mountains. When I traveled through here at the end of August 1936, this barrier was occupied by a Mohammedan posse which aimed at defending it against the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung coming from Szechuan on its march to the north. However, the Communists did not advance toward Kansu through the Hsia-ho Valley, but /6/ proceeded farther east, because they were not equipped for the march through the Tibetan highlands which was to have led them to Sinkiang. They would have found the Mohammedans tough opponents, prepared to resist them with determination, although the weapons of this posse consisted almost entirely of spears decorated with red tassels.

Beyond Tu-men-kuan the Chinese and Mohammedans settle ' 563
only in the principal valleys, and even there almost exclusively as 463
traders who build small settlements along the caravan roads. They 361
supply passing travelers and caravan drivers with food and shelter, sell all kinds of objects of daily use to the Tibetan country people, and for their part buy up farm products. For the rest, however, the region beyond Tu-men-kuan is settled mainly by Tibetans who have preserved their Tibetan culture relatively intact. A few kilometers up the valley we come upon the first Tibetan chorten and directly after that we pass the first lamasery. Two-days' journey above Tu-men-kuan, near the place where the Hsia-ho, rising in the undulating highland farther south, begins gnawing its way into the mountains, lies Labrang at an altitude of 2,950 meters.

The famous monastery of Labrang is a most important cultural 792
and political center. It was founded in the 18th century during the reign of Ch'ien-lung who was interested in furthering Lamaistic religion. Labrang is now an important monastery city with many magnificent temples and countless courts for the lamas. There are said to be around 3,000 lamas and "living Buddhas" residing here.

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet.

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal.

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pastureland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i. e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way.

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), page 451.

177 805 796 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur, that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

532 341 796 The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I. 1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II. 1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

and vice versa, as I was told several times in China.

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If a person believes, on the other hand, that he has fallen ill because of magic, he first lets a lama prophesy who has cast the spell. Then the person lies in wait for the enchanter and shoots him. My interpreter who spent a long time with the nomad Mewu-Fantzu, had never experienced such cases himself, but had only heard tell of them. However, he maintained that he knew of several cases of revenge on alleged sorcerers among the sedentary Fantzu with whom he lived at the time. Laymen can protect themselves from magic spells not only by availing themselves of the magic powers of böm-bu and lamas, but also by practicing magic themselves. Any layman who fears magic spells can read in the sacred writings if he is able to read at all. A layman can protect himself against misfortune, as for example sickness or cattle epidemics, by means of magic.

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Strangers are, of course, particularly subject to suspicion. Thus my interpreter learned that after I had come to live near the encampment of the Mewu-Fantzu, they wondered whether an abnormally heavy rain lasting for several days might have been caused by my visit. The people, particularly the men (?), were by no means happy over my visit, especially in the beginning. But not only Europeans are affected by this superstition; it is directed also against Chinese and Mohammedans and even Tibetans from the lowlands. The nomads dislike particularly being photographed or having people make sketches or draw maps. The stranger, especially of course the European, is highly suspect because of his unusual appearance and his strange customs. This viewpoint is, however, only human, and by no means characteristic of Tibetans alone. I found it throughout China; and it has been my experience over a period of many years that every /54/ slightly unusual event that coincides with the arrival of a stranger is only too easily regarded as having been caused by the stranger, no matter whether I traveled in the extreme northwestern part of China among Tibetans, or in the extreme southeast among the Li on the island of Hainan, or somewhere in between, in China proper. (1)

1. Compare, for example, C. Bell 10), page 207; Stübel 11), Hainan-Li, page 61, 113, 241; Stübel 12), Yao, page 377. Since I always traveled in summer, and thus at the time of the great rains, I was not at all surprised that the rainstorm was regarded by the Fantzu as being connected with my arrival. I had the same experience, for example, with a Yao tribe in northern

Mewu

788 the wind, as I did among the sedentary Fantzu. On the other hand, prayer flags (2) were used a great deal. In front of most tents there

2. Rockhill 1), page 739.

is a mast from which as /57/ a rule two lines are suspended adorned
● 792 with prayer flags. In cases of illness or other misfortunes the peo-
782 ple visit a lama in a monastery and ask his advice. The lama may then recommend the use of a prayer flag which is printed by the lama, usually free of charge.

We must also mention the fact that lamas are called upon to influence the weather by means of prayer, especially when there is too much rainfall or a drought. In that case the lama comes to the tent encampment and pitches his own tent, in which he reads sacred writings.

I did not learn anything among the tent Fantzu about special customs to keep off thunderstorms. The sedentary Fantzu leave it to the lamas to ward off thunderstorms.

[821] Earthquakes are considered a punishment for the wickedness of human beings. When there are eclipses of the sun and moon the people pray, as they do so often, simultaneously with lips, rosary and prayer wheels, and burn juniper wood.

Laymen as well as lamas and böm-bu offer sacrifices to ward off evil influences. On the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of each month they burn incense in front of the tent. This custom is observed particularly after a death, in order to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors. Morning and evening they burn dwarf juniper and remnants of yak dung. At the same time they set out a brass cup with sacrificial water, as well as butter and tsamba. The sedentary Fantzu have special altars for this purpose made of loam; the tent Fantzu burn their offering on the ground. There are also sacrifices made chiefly to Dzam-la (Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth) whose statuette stands on the family altar. They place three bowls to the left and four to the right of this statuette, and these are filled every morning with fresh water, just as those in front of a Buddha statue. After the noon meal the bowls are emptied and stacked.

751 /58/ Sacrifices are made to the ami (mountain spirit) on all
782 sorts of occasions, chiefly to ward off evil, and darts and "khadaks"(1)

1. The "khadak," a silk scarf, is an important object of the religious and social life of the Tibetans.

In its simplest form it consists of a strip of thin, light-blue silk one meter long and about 30 centimeters wide, imported from Szechuan (Ch'eng-tu). It is used as an offering, like the obo, especially in the Lamaistic religion, as for example, for an incarnation whose blessing one implores. A khadak is always an appropriate and polite gift.

are used. Offerings include khadaks, darts (for the obo), juniper wood, barley flour, tsamba, butter, sacrificial water in brass bowls, as well as sacrificial paper which, as in China, is burned. Pictures are stamped on the sacrificial paper, for example, a horse surrounded by the symbols of the "eight treasures." (2) Offerings are also made

2. Compare Wadell 7), page 393.

to the mountain spirit before a hunt, especially when the animals to be hunted are hard to capture, for example, musk deer or gazelles. This offering is made on top of the tent, and consists of juniper wood, butter and tsamba. There is another sacrificial rite when war threatens, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Lamaistic times, and at which lamas are never present. The warriors gather at a place agreed upon and slit open with a knife the belly of a yak, a sheep or a goat. The animal is then cast alive on a fire of yak dung and burned to death along with tsamba and butter.

The sacred animals which wealthy people sacrifice to the spirits can probably also be regarded as offerings. For this purpose they always choose a male animal (yak or sheep), but it /59/ may also be castrated. These animals which are kept in the owner's herd may not be shorn or slaughtered; they are allowed to die a natural death. Since people are very much concerned about keeping them well and alive for a long time, they often decorate them with the above-mentioned bundles of colored ribbons blessed by the lamas. (1)

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 49.

Oracles and prophecies are sought preferably from the lamas. People value them differently. We have spoken above how the nomads ask a lama to prophesy for them with regard to the driving out of spirits, in order to ascertain whether in a given case this can best be done by a lama or a bŏm-bu. They also let a lama prophesy how to trace a criminal. The lama may say whether and

787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
177 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
771 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a böm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
777 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

Mewu

from the tent. For this ceremony the fu-yeh is presented with two yaks, two sheep and the good clothing of the deceased, depending on the wealth of the relatives. Poor people often give only a small remuneration. 764 177

In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there are three lamaseries, the Old and the New Mewu Lamasery (Mewu-chiu-szu, Mewu-hsin-szu) and Lao-do-ma, all of which are under the jurisdiction of the large Labrang Lamasery. Most of the lamas at these places come from among the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) However, there are also some 772

1. According to Ekvall 4), page 31, about every third man among the Fantzu is a lama.

Chinese lamas, mostly people who were impoverished as a result of the Mohammedan uprisings in the 17th and 21st years of the Republic (1928 and 1932). There are more Chinese among the lamas in He-tso farther down and in Labrang, and still more in Kumbum, the famous lamasery of western Tibet. According to my interpreter, Chinese lamas are superior to Tibetan lamas, probably because of the mere fact that they can read Chinese as well as Tibetan.

The lamaseries have their own pasturelands. They do not keep sheep, only yaks, which they have the young lamas tend. There are no regular taxes collected for the lamaseries, but they are provided with necessary food, most of which is donated at the temple festivals. If a family has a relative who is a lama, it provides him regularly with /64/ food. Surplus flour and butter are always sent to the lamasery by people who have a son there. Families connected with the lamaseries take turns defraying the expenses for the temple festivals and supplying the necessary food for these occasions. Lamas also often come to the tents to ask for food, especially butter. A typical picture of nomad life is to see a lama riding from tent to tent for this purpose. These lamas sometimes also come from lamaseries that do not belong to Mewu-Fantzu territory. An incarnation wearing a golden hat and a red silk sash usually rides at the head of the procession, followed by a few lamas in white hats and one or two mounted laymen who keep off the dogs. When such a group of riders stops in front of a tent the inmates come out, chain the dogs and kowtow to the incarnation, who blesses them for it by touching them with a piece of white cloth. This ceremony brings luck. I was under the impression that the people enjoyed giving the lama of their surplus butter.

● 792 Let us summarize what we have said about the function of the lamas in the everyday religious life of the nomads: the lamas exorcise the evil spirits, above all the wicked souls of the dead who bring sickness to man and beast. People come to the lamas to receive amulets as a protection against diseases of men and animals, and prayer flags to protect the tent. Lamas are also requested to exorcise unfavorable weather by reading prayers aloud. Only the lamas can judge feng-shui, i.e., the magical influence of the various aspects of landscape on the life of man. As far as I could ascertain, feng-shui does not count as much among the Fantzu as it does among the Chinese.

At festivals, some of which are celebrated by individual families in their tents, others in the lamaseries, the lamas must recite prayers; likewise on other occasions, for example, to fend off threats of war. The lamas are also consulted when a child is given a name one or two months after birth. But first and foremost the lamas are asked to help in sickness in order to determine by casting dice whether it would be more advantageous to have a lama or a böm-bu exorcise the evil spirit. They are paid a small sum of money for carrying out such exorcisms. If one wants to apprehend a criminal, a lama is asked to prophesy whether the crime can be discovered and when, and in what direction one must travel in order to capture the criminal. A lama is also consulted if it is believed that an illness was caused by magic. The lama prophesies who has cast the spell.

Aside from all these "religious" functions, a lama's aid is also sought in everyday life when /65/ on any occasion a layman's education is not adequate. Thus if a man closes an important business deal, he asks a lama to help him make out the bill. Most important of all, the scholarly lamas calculate the Chinese calendar for the people, and post it on the lamasery gate.

The incarnations have a special significance in the religious life of a lamasery. In Chinese they are known as Huo-fu (Living Buddha), in Kansu mostly fu-yeh, in Tibetan (Mewu-Fantzu) A-le-ha. (1) In Mewu-chiu-szu and Lao-do-ma there are two

1. Compare L. A. Wadell 7), page 229 ff. on incarnations.

fu-yeh, in Mewu-hsin-szu, one. The fu-yeh are sent from Labrang to these temples. They need not come originally from the region of the Mewu-Fantzu. My interpreter could not remember that there was ever a fu-yeh found among the Mewu-Fantzu. He

maintained that origin was not important in the selection of a fu-yeh, and that the fu-yeh were not predominantly chosen from the families of tribal chieftains or other influential families. In his opinion, the fu-yeh were honestly chosen. The common people have the following to say on the subject: Shortly before his death the fu-yeh tells his confidant (kuan-chia) in what region he will be reborn. If he does not mention a specific region or says that he will be reborn only after a few years, the kuan-chia consults the great incarnation at Labrang who figures out when and where the fu-yeh will be reborn. The kuan-chia takes the deceased fu-yeh's horse-whip and his wooden tsamba bowl edged with silver, and betakes himself into the region indicated by the deceased himself or by the incarnation in Labrang, in order to find the child in which the deceased is reborn. He gives the bowl and the whip to a number of children who he thinks may be the incarnation. If a child accepts the objects, it is the true incarnation who then is presented with khadaks (silk scarfs) and pulu (Tibetan woolen material) by the kuan-chia. The child is usually 4 to 8 years old. The kuan-chia then negotiates about the price to be paid the parents of the fu-yeh for /66/ the child. It amounts to several hundred dollars, a few horses and yaks. Often, however, the parents forgo compensation because they consider it an honor to have a fu-yeh in their family. The inhabitants of the region in which the fu-yeh was found form a cortege which accompanies him to the lamasery he is to enter, and the lamas from there come to meet him. A fu-yeh is never dismissed because he proves unsuitable. No one doubts the divinatory discovery of the fu-yeh.

The great importance of the fu-yeh for the lamasery itself as well as for the religious life of the layman is evident if we consider the fact mentioned above that each lamasery has a corresponding obo on a sacred mountain, and that the spirit (ami) dwelling in the obo is thought of as mystically connected with one of the lamasery incarnations who, in turn, corresponds to a Buddha or Bodhisattva.

The high esteem which the fu-yeh enjoys among the people gives him a special place in judicial matters: a convicted thief must pay a lama two or three times the indemnity that a layman can command, but a fu-yeh must be paid nine times the amount if he is robbed. At New Year, offerings are made to the ami at the obo, and on the fourth day of the year a festival is held at the lamaseries, which the laymen attend and at which fireworks are set off in honor of the former fu-yeh. The Tibetan regards it as a special reward for a sinless life to be reborn as a fu-yeh some day, although he

● 792 does not realize that this view contradicts the essential nature of an incarnation. As we said above, people like to give butter to the fu-yeh if he rides to the tent encampment personally to request food for the lamasery. We have also mentioned the fact that when death occurs in a family the fu-yeh must conduct a special rite in the tent of the deceased so that he will not be reborn as an animal but as a human being.

796 /67/ All festivals of the Tibetans, except weddings and part of the New Year's festival, are religious. There are four yearly festivals in the lamaseries: from the 1st to the 15th of the first month, from the 15th to the 25th of the fifth month, from the 1st to the 15th of the eighth month, and from the 15th to the 25th of the tenth month, according to the Chinese calendar. There are no other religious festivals, with the exception of the festival known as "speaking and sitting still." No religious festivals are celebrated in the tents. However, while the lamasery festivals are going on or shortly thereafter, people invite friends and relatives to their tent. The laymen bring meat, wine and money to the festivals as gifts for the lamasery; no gifts are brought when people are invited into the tents. The wine is drunk only by the laymen, never by lamas. At the New Year festival, which as a rule lasts a fortnight, feasts are usually prepared in the tents, but only on the first three days. This festival was formerly more simple among the Fantzu, but has been influenced by the Chinese. On the morning of New Year's day they burn cypress wood as a sacrifice to the mountain spirits. On the fourth day of the year everybody from the tents goes to the lamasery, where a large feast is given - consisting mostly of mo-mo and butter - and fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased fu-yeh. At the same time a festival is held on the obo mountain to invoke the ami. Butter, tea, mutton and cypress wood are offered. At the New Year's feasts in the tents, beef, mutton and pork are eaten - in fact, pork is eaten only at New Year - as well as butter, a kind of bread made of unroasted barley flour, pastry baked in oil and tsamba. In addition they buy bean-flour noodles, carrots and cabbage in Ho-chou, the nearest large Mohammedan commercial city north of Labrang. If the family is wealthy they also eat pao-tzu (tarts) filled with garlic, similar to Italian ravioli, which are popular all over North China as well. Noodles and mo-mo (Chinese bread) are also served exclusively at New Year and on other festive occasions. If possible, they drink wine.

The marriage age as a rule is between the 15th and 18th year. 581
There is considerable sexual intercourse before marriage, but a 792
couple marries when a child is born. There are love matches and matches arranged by a third person who even in the case of marriage for love, is sent by the young man to the family of his beloved. If there is only one son, he becomes a lama, if there are two sons, the older one stays at home and the younger becomes a lama; often all the sons except the first-born enter a lamasery. It even happens that all the sons join a lamasery. In that case, or if there is no son, a son-in-law must be adopted. These sons-in-law are as a rule ex-lamas who did not like the life of the lamasery. Thus there is /70/ always a shortage of eligible males, and yet there are no older unmarried women. Polygyny is uncommon, except among very wealthy people. Polyandry which occurs in parts of Tibet is not customary among the Mewu-Fantzu. The sons who become lamas are sent into the lamasery when they are 8 to 10 years old.

Among the Mewu-Fantzu the tent nomads and the sedentary 563
Fantzu intermarry. It is, however, said to be more distinctive for 581
a tent nomad to marry a woman from a resident family. (1) She likes

1. This statement of my interpreter contradicts what Ekvall 4), page 76, says, namely, that the nomads are always more highly esteemed than the sedentary Fantzu.

to go into a tent, provided her husband has means. Conversely a sedentary Fantzu can marry a nomad woman without being discredited. There are also marriagesbetween Chinese and Mohammedans on the one hand and nomads on the other. A Chinese or a Mohammedan may marry a nomad woman, but a man who is a nomad may not marry a Chinese woman because she does not understand the work a nomad woman has to perform. A family of nomads gains in social standing if a Chinese man marries a woman of the family. Hence the nomads do not always demand a marriage fee from the Chinese, at any rate not a large one. Usually the Chinese man is obliged to give only a yak. The Mongols living in the province of Kansu have no contact with the Mewu-Fantzu.

If it is a love match, neither the parents nor other relatives have 583
any influence in the choice of a man. The wedding gift is paid in yaks, and consists of one to five yaks, depending on the wealth of the man's family. If a son-in-law is adopted, the family of the girl must give the family of the man one or two yaks, provided the son does not come from a family living away, in which case nothing

region. Originally the Chinese government played the role of the 648
highest liege lord, since the t'u-szu had to pay taxes to it and lend assistance in war. The Chinese government installed the t'u-szu in office, that is to say, it gave the t'u-szu family its domain to a certain extent as an hereditary feudal possession. The Huang-szu-ling was installed only 7 or 8 years ago (that is, about 1928) by the Chinese government. His family, known for its war-like (or rather marauding) enterprises, comes from the province of Hsik'ang, south of Kansu. It is characteristic for the intellectual and social attitude of a feudal society that the highest incarnation of the great Labrang Lamasery is a brother of the Huang-szu-ling. The independence of the Huang-szu-ling was very much curtailed by the Chinese government, especially in the organization of the district of Hsia-ho. The Mewu-Fantzu henceforth do not have to pay their taxes to the Huang-szu-ling, but the t'ou-mu and his sub-chiefs transfer the taxes they collect directly to the Chinese district officials.

One of the lamaseries - Mewu-hsin-szu or new Mewu lamasery - 792 ●
in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu is directly under the adminis- 624
tration of the t'ou-mu. The territory of Mewu-chiu-szu - old Mewu lamasery - is under the administration of three sub-chiefs. The territory of Lao-da-ma is under two sub-chiefs, one of whom has a higher rank than all the rest. Sedentary Fantzu as well as tent nomads are also under the administration of the sub-chiefs.

The t'ou-mu lives alternately in a regular house situated between 643
He-tso and Mewu-hsin-szu, or in a tent. The latter is not different 624
from the tents of other Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has a representative in each of the three lamaseries in his area, and he sometimes lives with them. The office of the t'ou-mu is hereditary from father to eldest son. If the son is not suited to the position, the /76/ father has the right to name a son that is more qualified as his successor. If the t'ou-mu has no sons, his adopted son-in-law becomes his successor. A definite number of families are under the administration of a chief and his five sub-chiefs. Each of these families has a right to five definite pasture areas. There are no marriage restrictions within the group of families governed by a t'ou-mu. The t'ou-mu must see to it that people from a strange tribe under no circumstances pasture their animals in the region under his jurisdiction. He has [563]
more than ten officials (Chinese: kuan-shih) who are laymen, and in addition the above-mentioned representatives in the lamaseries. They, too, are known as kuan-shih, but are lamas. Their task, among other things, is to welcome lamasery guests. There are no particular office-holders apart from the t'ou-mu, his five sub-chiefs